

THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF AN
IMPERIAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE
AND A SYSTEM OF
EMPIRE CABLES

PRINTED BY ORDER OF PARLIAMENT



OTTAWA

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RETURN

(67)

To an ADDRESS of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, dated the 21st March, 1906, for copies of all letters and documents relating to the establishment of an Imperial Intelligence Service.

R. W. SCOTT,

Secretary of State.

OTTAWA, JANUARY 26th, 1906.

*The Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier,
Prime Minister, Canada.*

Sir,—I have the honour to submit, for the information of your Government, a communication addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The communication refers to the views of many well known Canadians on the prime necessity of an Imperial Intelligence Department as a means of advancing the consolidation of the Empire. I am convinced that the establishment of the service suggested would immediately lead to a more satisfactory financial outlook for the Pacific cable and immensely promote the usefulness of that state undertaking.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

OTTAWA, JANUARY 26, 1906.

The Right Honourable
THE EARL OF ELGIN,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to submit the following papers:—which I venture to think have a bearing on a subject of much interest to the people of the Mother Country and all the Colonies.

Having, through force of circumstances, come into possession of the views of many of the foremost men in Canada on a proposal respecting the organization of the Empire, duty impels me to make these views known. Equally impressed by a sense of public duty, I have the honour to submit explanations on a subject which at the present moment occupies the thoughts of many persons throughout the King's Dominions. These explanations will be found to relate to the gradual evolution of the Empire.

More than a hundred and thirty years ago the great and gifted Irishman, Edmund Burke, and the illustrious U. E. Loyalist, Joseph Galloway, on opposite sides of the ocean, each had visions of a mighty Empire; more than fifty years ago its organization was the dream of the great Canadian, Joseph Howe; since then it has been the dream of other great men of various races, in various British communities, and in yearly increasing numbers.

For a generation back Imperial Federation Leagues, British Empire Leagues, and other associations have been formed with the avowed purpose of converting the dream into a reality. The goal has not been reached; but if the desired results have not followed, these several agencies have done much to awaken the spirit of union which now to so large an extent prevails.

THE FIRST NECESSITY.

The organization of the Empire was brought specially to the attention of the Canadian people in October last by three envoys from England, Sir Frederick Pollock, Mr. Geoffrey Drage, and Mr. Pitt Kennedy. These gentlemen travelled throughout the Dominion and addressed public meetings in several cities. It will be my purpose to refer to some of the chief proposals they submitted, and furnish the views of many eminent Canadians respecting them. From such evidence I think it will be apparent that the time is not yet ripe for the adoption of the proposals, at least in the order in which they were presented. Moreover, the evidence will show that no scheme of organization is likely to be readily and generally acceptable unless and until some effective means be taken by and through which the people of every portion of the Empire are made better acquainted than at present with each other, and with all matters concerning their mutual well-being.

This points directly to the first step which the circumstances of the case appear to demand,—the establishment of an adequate service for disseminating useful knowledge throughout the Empire for the mutual advantage of all. I am satisfied that such a service, established under Imperial authority, and properly organized to accomplish the desired ends, would prove a powerful and effective educating influence. I believe there is nothing which would more speedily tend to bring about the harmonious union of all British communities.

At present we have, it is true, the Imperial postal service; but owing to distance and the time taken up in transit, this service is entirely inadequate. No satisfactory exchange of thought, or general discussion, can be carried on when it requires two or three months to get a reply to any kind of postal communication.

It may be said that delegates could be sent from one country to another to make speeches and deliver lectures ; but the audiences in all such cases would be limited. The circumstances require, not simply that lectures or *post prandial* speeches be heard by a few on special occasions, but that the millions be reached frequently. This, I am satisfied, is the first problem to be solved, unless the consolidation of the Empire is to be indefinitely postponed. That it can be solved, and most effectively, I have no doubt whatever, by utilizing the electric telegraph, and by combining its use with the daily and other journals in each British community. Through the co-operation of Cables and the Press we would come into possession of the very best medium for conveying selected intelligence to the millions who read the newspapers, and whose children attend school. Immense good can be done through the schools in the British world in giving direction to our political destiny ; but I cannot now dwell on this branch of the subject.

A GREAT CIRCLE OF EMPIRE CABLES.

There is no novelty in the proposal about to be referred to. It was foreshadowed in the proceedings of the Colonial Conferences of 1887 and 1894. It has since these dates been advocated from time to time. It was put into concrete form in a communication addressed to the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, on October 28th, 1898.

In this document it was proposed that all the self-governing British communities in both hemispheres be brought into direct electric touch with each other, and all with the Mother Country. It was designed that cable-telegraphs should connect each adjacent or proximate community in such a manner as to constitute, with the connecting land lines, a continuous chain of telegraph around the Globe, and thus admit of messages being sent in either direction, as circumstance or convenience might call for, from any one British State to any other British State.

The Globe-encircling chain of telegraph-cables would extend from England to Canada, and thence to New Zealand, Australia, India, South Africa, and the West Indies, returning to England by way of Bermuda, with a branch to Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. That this system of connecting lines may be of the highest Imperial advantage, it is essential that it be wholly State-owned and State-controlled.

This Globe encircling chain has been designated the "Empire Cables," for the reason that it would telegraphically unite all the great self-governing units of the Empire without traversing, or even touching, any foreign soil. Its establishment as a State undertaking would greatly reduce charges for transmitting over-sea messages. There is evidence which makes plain that the revenue would be ample to pay working expenses, and the working policy advised would be to reduce charges progressively as the volume of traffic increased.

The letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, when made public in 1898, attracted much attention in the Press. Two years thereafter a great impulse was given to the project by an agreement, entered into on December 31st, 1900, between the Home Government and the Governments of Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and New Zealand. By this agreement a unique partnership was formed between six British Governments for the purpose of establishing and maintaining the Pacific Cable. On October 31st, 1902, this initial and most important link in the Globe-encircling chain was completed.

THE VIEWS OF COMMERCIAL MEN.

Before its completion the establishment of the remaining links in the whole chain was earnestly considered by business men in different parts of the British world. The Ottawa Board of Trade in 1901 opened correspondence with every known organized association of commercial men within the Empire. The correspondence has been continued, and by this means the opinions of British merchants the world over have been gained.

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The evidence thus collected makes clear that, while there may be various shades of opinion on Imperial fiscal schemes and Imperial defence schemes, and other like questions, there is no divergence of opinion among independent and thoughtful business men respecting the need of the Empire cables and the policy of establishing them. A remarkable consensus of opinion has been presented in favour of the proposal to establish this great Imperial cable service, and all are agreed as to the incalculable advantages likely to spring from it.

There can be no stronger evidence on this point than the resolution adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, held in Montreal in August, 1903. The resolution was unanimously passed by representative business men in Congress assembled. The conclusions reached have never been gainsaid. They have, in fact, been endorsed and supported by individual Chambers in all parts of the world.

THE RESOLUTION.

‘That in the opinion of this Congress all the self-governing British communities around the globe should be united by a continuous chain of State-owned telegraphs. That such an Inter-Imperial line of communication would, under Government control, put an end to the difficulty which has been caused in Australia by the allied Cable Companies, and remove all friction which has arisen between the partners in the Pacific cable: That it would lower charges to a minimum on over-sea messages passing between New Zealand, Australia, India, South Africa, the West Indies, Newfoundland, Canada and the Mother Country; That it would provide a double means of communication at low, uniform rates between the Mother Country, or any one British State, and all self-governing British States; That it would constitute the most effective means by which the several Governmental units of the Empire may hold communion with each other whenever they desire, and that while it would be of the highest importance to the commercial and social interests of the British people around the world, it would, by the subtle force of electricity, at once promote the consolidation of the Empire and prove an indispensable factor in Imperial Unity.’

If commerce, as universally claimed, be the backbone of the British Empire, such an expression of opinion should carry with it great weight. The resolution adopted with so much unanimity by representative British merchants assembled in what in fact was a near approach to a commercial parliament of the whole Empire, is most significant.

THE EASTERN EXTENSION COMPANY.

But the Empire Cables are not favoured in one quarter. The public policy of establishing a much-needed Imperial service, demanded by the progress of events, meets with the greatest opposition from a certain influential private company.

The Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, with commendable enterprise, thirty-four years ago laid a branch telegraph line from Asia to Australia. The Australian Governments granted liberal subsidies. The Company exacted high charges for the transmission of messages, and in process of time built up for itself a rich monopoly. This condition was terminated by the establishment of the Pacific Cable, the initial link in the chain of Empire Cables, and since then the Eastern Extension Company has not spared its reserve funds and its efforts to destroy the business outlook of the Pacific Cable. But I shall leave it to others to relate the history of these efforts and the subtle influences employed to harm the State undertaking. All these proceedings, at length, as it now appears, culminated in an attempt under cover of what has been termed ‘a pooling agreement’ to secure control of the State-owned Cable.

It is perfectly clear that to surrender control of the Pacific Cable, in any degree to the Company would be in every sense unwise and even suicidal. It would be the first step towards resuscitating the old monopoly, and would at once endorse and confirm the maintenance of unnecessarily high over-sea telegraph charges. It would put an end to

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the completion of the Empire Cables, and extinguish all hope of securing an adequate Imperial telegraph service, regarded by so many thoughtful men as indispensable to the consolidation of the Empire.

There are few who now doubt that the pooling scheme took its origin with the Company in London. Happily, the 'antipodes' came to the rescue, and in the spirit, and almost in the words of the Right Hon. H. C. Raikes (Postmaster General during the term of the Colonial Conference of 1887), have practically declared that the Company shall not be allowed to 'throttle' the Pacific Cable and 'preclude' the completion of the 'Empire Cables.'

'The Britain of the South' discovered a bold invasion of the interests of the public, an insidious attempt to render hopeless the realization of high Imperial ideals. New Zealand vigorously protested against a pooling partnership and suggested instead that the Colonial Cables of the Company be 'nationalized.' These last-mentioned cables, transferred to the State, would constitute distinct portions of the Globe-girdling Empire Cables.

The Eastern Extension Company assumes an attitude which is absolutely indefensible. If that Company ever regarded itself as too sacred to be interfered with, the illusion was entirely removed a few hours before the present century commenced, by the united act of the six governments, who then resolved to establish the Pacific Cable. That act cannot now be undone, and the completed line of 'Empire Cables' is but a natural corollary thereto.

It is not denied that Australasians have been indebted to the Company for giving them the first telegraphic connection with the outer world; but that historical event occurred a third of a century ago. The Company has been already rewarded for its enterprise, and it is not now proposed that any of the Company's cables or property be assumed for public use, without giving fair and full compensation therefor.

However deserving its enterprise in the first instance, however profitable that enterprise for many years proved, at this stage in the history of the Nations it is impossible to recognize that the Company possesses an indefeasible right to obstruct measures vital to the free development of a great World-Empire.

I have elsewhere pointed out that it must not be supposed that the establishment of a single trunk line of State Cables around the Globe would irretrievably ruin, or even in the end do any real injury to the private companies. In some respects it would be an actual advantage and benefit to them. It is quite true that there would be a great change, a new development approaching a revolution in business generally by the introduction of the chain of 'Empire Cables,' but the new trunk line of telegraphic communication would intersect the cables of the private companies at a number of points and prove an actual feeder to them. It would furnish abundant telegraph traffic at low rates, for dissemination by these private cables acting as branches.

AN IMPERIAL INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT.

An interesting phase of the subject is brought to light by the recent visit of Sir Frederick Pollock and his colleagues to Canada. These gentlemen came to the Dominion as envoys from England, to explain the conclusions reached by a large committee of Englishmen of position representing various interests.

The proposals of Sir Frederick Pollock and those associated with him, are given in the following summary statement which appears in an article by that gentleman, on Imperial Organization, published after his return to England, in the 'Nineteenth Century' for December, 1905:—

(1.)—An advisory council, including representatives of all parts of the Empire and presided over, preferably, by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, to be formed on the basis of the existing colonial conferences.

(2.)—A permanent secretarial office attached to the President of the Imperial Council, to acquire and systematise information material to the common concerns of the Empire for the use of the Cabinet and the Council, and, so far as might be

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expedient for publication. (Since described as an Imperial Intelligence Department).

(3.)—A permanent Imperial Commission whose members could represent all such branches of knowledge and research, outside those matters pertaining exclusively to any Department, as would be profitable in Imperial affairs; they would normally be put in action by the Prime Minister appointing special committees to deal with the particular questions on the request of the Imperial Council.

Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Geoffrey Drage spoke at public meetings in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and other places. They addressed the Canadian Club in Ottawa, on October 21st, 1905, and directly afterwards I submitted the views I hold in a letter to the Club. I did the same on October 26th in a second letter. Both letters were printed and to a limited extent circulated. Copies were sent under a covering letter from me to several well-known gentlemen, some of whom are practically removed from active Dominion politics; and, as it was regarded of public importance that the wisest available advice should be obtained, the hope was expressed to these gentlemen that they would be good enough to give briefly their views.

I have been favoured with more than a hundred replies, and they reveal the fact that remarkable unanimity prevails on essential points. With scarcely an exception, the view is held that the true policy for the several Governments is to inaugurate adequate means by which the people of the Empire may obtain and continue to maintain neighbourly intercourse with each other. The large majority of the gentlemen consulted emphatically declare that the best possible means to accomplish that object is some such plan as that outlined in the letters to the Canadian Club which are appended hereto. All who have given the subject full consideration appear to think that the organization of an Imperial Intelligence Department on a comprehensive scale is the first necessity, possibly the only means by which harmonious and permanently satisfactory relations between all the units of the Empire can be had.

As indicated elsewhere, the Intelligence Department should be very much more than a mere Bureau in which collected information would be deposited for safe-keeping, and perhaps rarely seen by anyone other than the gentlemen in charge. It should be established in the common interest, and especially for the benefit of the many. It should be a widespread organization, co-extensive with the Empire, dedicated to the collection, transmission by cable, and publication in a free-handed manner, of intelligence on any subject of general interest for the information and education of the British people in every quarter of the Globe.

THE FREE EXCHANGE OF EMPIRE NEWS.

In addition to a central Board in the British Metropolis there should be local Boards and agencies in each self-governing community, where desired information would be collected. It would be the duty of each Board to take proper means to arrange and edit the information for free transmission by cable to the other Boards, and by them made available for simultaneous publication in the daily or weekly journals in all the great cities of the Empire. For further explanations I beg leave to append extracts from an article on 'State Cables and Cheap Telegraphy as aids to Imperial Consolidation.' In this article it is pointed out how Press messages may, within certain limitations, be transmitted without cost.

By this means the people of the whole Empire would be brought into continuous touch. Each person on opening his daily newspaper, would look into the column or columns under the heading 'Empire Cable News' for the Imperial Intelligence of the day, and would there find a trustworthy record of the matters of most vital importance and interest to every British community.

No argument is needed to point out the advantages which would spring from such an Agency. It is impossible to conceive any other means which would so speedily and so effectively enlighten the masses of British people on all matters which concern their

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common welfare. Even small portions of such Empire news regularly furnished daily in the newspapers would be a thousand times better than the almost entire absence of such intelligence which now generally obtains. It undoubtedly would have a powerful educative influence, and the high political effect would be to foster a broad Imperial patriotism. It would open to the intelligence of all our people, within the circle of the 'Empire Cables,' wider issues connected with the advancement and development of the Imperial fabric, and we are warranted in believing that it would stimulate the sense of common citizenship and, in time, lead to reciprocal affinity eventually approaching a general unity of ideas.

The machinery of a fully-equipped Intelligence Department once provided, we may then with confidence assume, (in the words used by the Colonial Office and repeated by the Canadian Government in recent correspondence)* that the better union and the collective prosperity of the British Empire 'may be wisely left to develop in accordance with circumstances, and, as it were, of their own accord.'

I share very fully with every one with whom I have conferred, the opinion that satisfactory results must reasonably be expected to follow the establishment of a wisely arranged Intelligence Department. The Imperial Press service suggested would tell its story and perform its functions, not once, not intermittently, but daily throughout every year. It would, like the continual dropping of water, produce effective results. By means of this perennial flow we may confidently hope to have the spirit and principles of the British Constitution in course of time pervading, invigorating, vivifying the whole Empire, and it is firmly believed that such results would be accomplished more speedily and more thoroughly in this way than by any other means whatever. It is this spirit and these principles, inherited from the centuries, which would beget that sympathy and affection which, although as light as the air we breathe, would constitute the cohesive forces to bind together the Empire, under the one flag and sovereign, as with bonds of steel.

AS A BUSINESS PROPOSITION.

Looking at the establishment of the Empire Cables as a business proposition, three questions arise :—

- (1.) What expenditure of capital will be required ?
- (2.) Who shall bear the cost ?
- (3.) What returns may be expected ?

As to the first question. The initial section is already completed as a joint State undertaking. The cable extends under the Pacific Ocean from Bamfield on the west coast of Canada, to Doubtless Bay on the coast of New Zealand, and Southport on the eastern coast of Australia. The exact cost of this undertaking is known. We also know the cost of the best description of copper wired land telegraphs with full equipment for rapid transmission over any distance. On the basis of these known data, it is estimated that the very moderate expenditure of £5,000,000 would complete the Globe girdling chain of Empire Cables, with connecting land lines. This chain would include a nationalized line from London across the Atlantic to Canada, and through Canada to Bamfield on the Pacific : also the necessary land lines through Australia and nationalized cables across the Indian Ocean to India and South Africa ; including also State-owned cables from South Africa to England via Barbados and Bermuda.

The second question 'Who shall bear the cost,' is a matter for negotiation and obviously must for the present remain undetermined. It may, however, be said that the cost should be borne by all the governments concerned in proportions to be agreed upon. On this principle the Pacific Cable was established ; New Zealand, with the three Australian States, New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, each agreed to bear two-eighteenths of the cost, while the remaining ten-eighteenths was divided

* Correspondence relating to the future organization of Colonial Conferences.—The *Times*, December 8th, 1905.

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between the United Kingdom and Canada in equal proportions. In the larger project, the whole commonwealth of Australia, comprising six States, is interested. India is especially interested, the South African States are interested, and likewise the West Indies. The Dominion of Canada is interested, and still more so, the Home Government, representing the United Kingdom, many Crown Colonies, and indeed the whole Empire. In due time it will become the duty of statesmen representing these several interests to arrange who shall bear the cost and in what proportions.

The third question is already in part answered in the paper appended on "State Cables and Cheap Telegraphy as aids to Imperial Consolidation." It is there demonstrated that the Pacific Cable, working only half time, that is to say, twelve hours in each twenty four, would at an extremely low charge for transmitting ordinary messages, yield a revenue considerably more than sufficient to cover all working expenses. I am firm in the conviction that it would be precisely the same with the completed Empire Cables and that they would be at liberty, during a number of hours, every day in the year to transmit regularly the free press messages desired to be exchanged by the Imperial Intelligence Department.

The system of Empire Cables is not designed simply to earn large money profits for shareholders, by imposing a tax on mutual intercourse. Its purpose is as far as possible to remove that tax. It is not designed to pay ordinary dividends, its dividends will take a new form. Its objects are to render a distinct service to all classes of the British people in all quarters of the Globe, to safe-guard their vital interests and effectively promote the continued growth and free development of the Empire,

THE VIEWS OF WELL KNOWN CANADIANS.

Attention is invited to the letters I have mentioned as having been received from a number of gentlemen of the highest eminence in Canada. I have already referred to the emphatic opinions of the Commercial men of the Empire, deliberately declared by their representatives in the meetings and Congress of Chambers of Commerce. But the men of business, although a unit in support of the movement advocated, are not more emphatic than other men of equal patriotism and wisdom, the learned writers of the letters to which I now refer.

The letters received are singularly interesting and are characterized by remarkable unanimity, especially on one essential point, the advantages to result from a properly established Intelligence Department. There is not in the more than a hundred responses a single expression adverse to the proposal. I append extracts from the letters received from such of the gentlemen as are not actively engaged in Dominion politics. There are many letters from other gentlemen equally favourable to the movement, including nine ministers, ex-ministers, and members of the Canadian Privy Council, which I would gladly append, but for obvious reasons, I refrain from doing so. Those now submitted I have classified, and arranged in four groups, A, B, C and D, comprising Statesmen, Judges, Scholars and Divines.

GROUP A.

STATESMEN AND STUDENTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

- 1.—His Honour Sir Henri G. Joly de Lotbinière, Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia Victoria.
- 2.—His Honour Alfred G. Jones, Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia Halifax.
- 3.—His Honour Wm. Mortimer Clarke, Lieut.-Governor of Ontario Toronto.
- 4.—M. H. A. A. Brault, Président de la Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal Montreal.
- 5.—Dean Bovey, LL.D., etc, McGill University Montreal.
- 6.—Lt.-Colonel Denison, President British Empire League in Canada Toronto.

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- 7.—Hon. Sir William P. Howland, P.C. Toronto.
- 8.—J. George Garneau, Esq. Quebec.
- 9.—Very Rev'd Monsignor Laflamme of Laval University Quebec.
- 10.—Sir William C. Macdonald. Montreal.
- 11.—Prof. Adam Shortt, Professor of Political Science, Queen's University . . Kingston.
- 12.—Benjamin Sulte, Esq., Historian and Ex-President Royal Society of
Canada. Ottawa.
- 13.—Hon. Sir Robert Thorburn, formerly Premier of Newfoundland St. John's.

GROUP B.

EACH NAME IN THIS GROUP REPRESENTS THE BENCH.

- 1.—Chancellor the Hon. Sir John Boyd, K.C.M.G., LL.D., President
of the High Court of Justice of Ontario. Toronto.
- 2.—Hon. Mr. Justice Fraser, Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. New Glasgow.
- 3.—Hon. Mr. Justice Hall, Judge of the Court of King's Bench. Montreal.
- 4.—Hon. Mr. Justice Hanington, Supreme Court of New Brunswick. Dorchester.
- 5.—Hon. Mr. Justice Hodgins, Master-in-Ordinary, Supreme Court of
Judicature of Ontario Toronto.
- 6.—Hon. Mr. Justice Johnson, Newfoundland St. John's.
- 7.—Hon. Mr. Justice Landry, Supreme Court of New Brunswick. Dorchester.
- 8.—Hon. Mr. Justice Meagher, Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. Halifax.
- 9.—Hon. Mr. Justice Russell, Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. Halifax.
- 10.—Hon. Chief Justice Sullivan, Supreme Court of Prince Edward
Island. Charlottetown.
- 11.—Hon. Mr. Justice Wetmore, Supreme Court of Saskatchewan. Moosomin.

GROUP C.

PRINCIPALS OR OTHER HEADS OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

- 1.—Rev. Principal Bland, D.D., Wesley College. Winnipeg.
- 2.—Rev. Chancellor Burwash, D.D., LL.D., Victoria College Toronto.
- 3.—Rev. Principal Falconer, Litt. D., Presbyterian College. Halifax.
- 4.—Very Rev. Principal Gordon, D.D., Queen's University. Kingston.
- 5.—President Hannah, D.C.L., King's College. Windsor, N.S.
- 6.—Rev. Provost Macklem, D.D., Trinity University Toronto.
- 7.—Very Rev. Principal MacLaren, D.D., Knox College. Toronto.
- 8.—Very Rev. Monsignor Mathieu, C.M.G., Rector Laval University . . Quebec.
- 9.—Rev. Principal Patrick, D.D., Manitoba College Winnipeg.
- 10.—Principal Peterson, LL.D., C.M.G., McGill University. Montreal.
- 11.—Rev. Principal Scrimger, D.D., Presbyterian College Montreal.
- 12.—Rev. Principal Sheraton, D.D., Wycliffe College. Toronto.

GROUP D.

PROMINENT CLERGYMEN FROM WHOM LETTERS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED.

- 1.—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Algoma. Sault Ste. Marie.
- 2.—Right Rev. Dr. Armstrong, Moderator. Ottawa.
- 3.—Rev. Dr. Barclay, St. Paul's Montreal.
- 4.—Right Rev. Coadjutor Bishop Carmichael. Montreal.
- 5.—Most Rev. Archbishop of Halifax. Halifax.
- 6.—Very Rev. Dr. Milligan, Ex-Moderator. Toronto.

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- 7.—Most Rev. Archbishop of Montreal... Montreal.
 - 8.—Very Rev. Dr. Moore, Ex-Moderator... Ottawa.
 - 9.—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia... Halifax.
 - 10.—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Niagara... Hamilton.
 - 11.—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Ontario... Kingston.
 - 12.—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Ottawa... Ottawa.
 - 13.—Rev. Dr. Potts, Methodist Educational Society... Toronto.
 - 14.—Very Rev. Dr. Pollok, ex-Moderator... Halifax.
 - 15.—Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Quebec... Quebec.
 - 16.—Rev. Dr. Rose, Methodist Centenary Church... Hamilton.
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In examining the extracts appended one cannot fail to notice the unity of thought (however variously expressed), which distinguishes nearly all of the letters. This is the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that the writers were widely separated by distance and had no opportunity, even incidentally, of mutual consultation. This circumstance cannot fail to establish much confidence in the general conclusion reached.

The evidence adduced gives the strongest possible support to the suggestions herein made, with respect to the practical development of what has been styled 'the organization of the Empire,' a subject which Mr. Howe introduced to the attention of the people of England in an eloquent speech delivered in the Town Hall of the City of Southampton, on January 14th, 1851, and which he, as leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, afterwards discussed at great length before the legislature of that Province.

Half a century has passed since then. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have come to the front. Great changes have been wrought in each of these countries, as well as in Canada and the Mother Country. There is perhaps more need to-day than ever before for a unity of ideas on this matter which so deeply concerns all. But if we ask ourselves the question, 'has there been a single decisively practical step made to organize the Empire?', it is difficult to give a direct and satisfactory answer in the affirmative. Indeed the feeling is gaining ground that there will be but little advance made until some new method, such as now suggested, be inaugurated.

OUR MUTUAL NEEDS.

As an illustration of the great need of an Imperial Intelligence organization such as that which has been outlined, I may instance the following facts. A remarkable address was delivered by the Honourable Alfred Deakin (now Prime Minister of Australia), on June 14th, 1905. It was published in Melbourne, by the Imperial Federation League of Victoria, in pamphlet form, but as far as I know, not a single copy of the address, in any form, reached Ottawa until January 25th, 1906. On that day I read the address for the first time, and I unhesitatingly say that this very able and scholarly deliverance on a momentous question in which all citizens of the Empire are as much interested as Australians should have long since been placed before every Canadian. The State Cable which unites Canada with Australia, lies idle at the bottom of the Pacific for more than twenty hours in each twenty-four; it has a complete staff of the very best operators in constant attendance and it would add absolutely nothing to the working expenses of the undertaking to have the Cable usefully employed during some of its idle hours. The address containing probably 10,000 words, could easily have been transmitted in one day, and still more easily by instalments in several days, in any case without interfering with ordinary cable business. This thoughtful utterance of an Imperial Statesman of the first rank, is precisely the kind of literature which a discerning officer of the proposed Intelligence Department would select for transmission by cable soon after its delivery, but it only reached Canada

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incidentally, after seven months had elapsed. Comment is unnecessary. The single case cited is quite sufficient to show how much would be gained by using the means placed at our command or within easy reach.

The half hundred names in the foregoing lists belong to gentlemen who, for the most part, entertain the idea that we should never forget the motto *Festina lente*. They are representative names of the learned classes in Canada, men of prudence, men of patriotism, men of foresight. Their names carry with them ample evidence that they are well qualified to speak not only for themselves, but for others, and it is of the utmost moment that the several British communities should be wisely counselled at this stage in our history.

The views expressed by these gentlemen may fairly be regarded as the voice of Canada. They are in substantial agreement with the recorded opinions of the commercial men of the Empire, and it can scarcely be doubted that they will be found in accord with prevailing opinions in the United Kingdom, in New Zealand, in Australia, and in South Africa. All heard from are substantially of one mind as to the establishment of a great channel of communication, linking together in an electric girdle the self-governing British communities. They appear to think that it is of transcendent importance to inaugurate an Imperial Cable Service, which, while satisfying in the highest degree, the needs of commerce, would at the same time perform the functions of a continuous spinal cord encircling the Globe, by and through which would freely flow every national aspiration, every sympathetic impulse of the British people in every longitude and latitude.

I humbly think that such a consensus of opinion may be taken to indicate the policy which, without unnecessary delay, it would be wise to follow at this stage in the evolution of the sea-united Empire.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Obedient Servant,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS AND PAPERS REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING COMMUNICATION.

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LETTER NO. 1.

OTTAWA, Oct. 21, 1905.

Members of the Canadian Club:—

It was a great satisfaction to me, as I am sure it was to every one present at the gathering this afternoon, to hear Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Geoffrey Drage set forth their views on a subject of the very highest importance—the unification of the Empire.

When they concluded, I would have wished, had it been in order, to give expression to my own thoughts and their bearing on the great subject which these distinguished gentlemen have been good enough to bring before the Club. As there was no opportunity afforded me of expressing my views, I trust there will be no impropriety in submitting a few words in this form.

I cannot but feel that, in common with our fellow-subjects in New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and elsewhere, we in Canada are under a debt of gratitude to those gentlemen in England, represented by Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Geoffrey Drage, who have given so much time and thought to the common interests, and have taken so much trouble concerning our future. We especially owe our warmest thanks to these public-spirited gentlemen themselves who have crossed the Atlantic as envoys to us, who have journeyed through the Dominion on their patriotic mission, who on their return to Ottawa, have explained to the Canadian Club the views held by them, and who desire to ascertain how far these views will fit in with Canadian conditions.

It appears that the conclusions they have reached are the outcome of much consideration and active discussion on the part of from 50 to 100 men of high position in the Mother Country, of persons holding almost every kind of opinion in English politics, and representing many interests.

Sir Frederick, as spokesman for all these gentlemen, read a paper on the subject at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, in April last. The views submitted to-day to the Canadian Club, Ottawa, are substantially the same, and they must be regarded here, as they were on the other side of the Atlantic, of the greatest weight and well worthy of the most serious consideration.

I think I speak correctly for the Canadian people when I say that they welcome enlightenment, the more so when it comes from so high authority; but I am not sure that they are ready, or that the people of all or of any of the other portions of the Empire are ready, to accept or reject any plan of organization, however excellent it may

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appear at sight. It is, I think, regarded of the first importance that they should act with deliberation, that they should be well informed, that they should be afforded the fullest opportunity of an interchange of thought, and thus obtain that knowledge of the wants and wishes of each other so necessary to wise decision and action.

When in England last summer, I was much impressed by reading the discussion on the paper of Sir Frederick Pollock at the Royal Colonial Institute. Among other things stated, one of the speakers reminded those present that so sound a statesman as the late Lord Salisbury considered it dangerous to attempt to force the various parts of the Empire into a mutual arrangement for which they are not ready. He said: 'If we will be patient and careful, there is a tremendous destiny before us; if we are hasty, there may be the reverse of such a destiny; there may be the breaking apart of those forces which are necessary to construct the majestic fabric of a future Empire.'

These and other considerations lead me to think that those associated with Sir Frederick Pollock have scarcely attached sufficient importance to the sequence of their proposals. Without going into particulars, the two main proposals made are, first, an Imperial Council, and, second, an Intelligence Department for the purpose of acquiring knowledge for use of the Council, and possibly for other purposes.

The first, as explained by Sir Frederick, is not seemingly too ambitious a proposal, and, as some better arrangement than now obtains is recognized to be desirable, it may prove to be the best. I am at present offering not the slightest objection to it. I do not suggest that it be renounced; but I am inclined to think that, if it be the best, there would be the best chance of it receiving general assent eventually if preference be given to the second proposal in the first instance. What the Empire really requires without unnecessary delay is a properly organized Intelligence Department: that is to say, some effective means by which the British people in all climes would mutually exchange information on every subject of common interest.

In addressing the Canadian Club, Sir Frederick animadverted on the criticism of Mr. Richard Jebb in the London press on some of the features of the scheme advocated. I have read the articles referred to; and, while the two gentlemen do not see eye to eye respecting the proposal to establish an Imperial Council, it is clear to my mind that they have a common goal in view in the distance. The difference between them in details merely illustrates the difficulties which are so frequently raised against any scheme, however excellent it may appear to those who have studiously prepared it. In one particular the two gentlemen are more nearly agreed, and that is with respect to the necessity for some means of collecting intelligence for mutual enlightenment.

For myself, I am a member of a number of associations, each aiming to promote the consolidation of the Empire. I have listened to or read everything which has been said or written thereon which has come to my notice. I have myself given the subject much thought; and I am satisfied that, to strengthen Imperial cohesion, the course advocated by the Chambers of Commerce everywhere—and perhaps more especially by the Ottawa Board of Trade—is well calculated to bring fruitful results with the least delay. These bodies recommend the establishment of an Imperial cable service uniting the great divisions of the Empire with each other, and all with the Mother Country—a service encircling the Globe, which, while greatly promoting trade would in the highest degree foster free intercourse between the various groups of British people in all lands under the sway of King Edward. The President of the Ottawa Board of Trade reported at the last annual meeting that the Council has 'placed itself in communication with commercial association and individuals in all parts of the Empire.' The replies received strengthen and confirm the views that there should be established as speedily as practicable, a chain of State owned Cables and Telegraphs to link together in the most effective manner the Mother Country, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, South Africa, and the West Indies.

The President further reports that singularly favourable responses to the communication of the Board have been elicited from well known sources in every quarter of the Globe; that not a single adverse reply has been received; and that no argument has been advanced against the public policy of completing without loss of time the compre-

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hensive chain of Imperial Cables, of which the Pacific Cable forms the initial and most important link.

By such means the prohibitive charges heretofore exacted on the intercourse of the British people around the Globe would be set aside, in some cases the tax would be entirely removed, and it would become possible to invoke the aid of the press as one of the most powerful agencies in advancing Imperial organization. I have elsewhere given my views in some detail on this point, and I would refer to a pamphlet issued and circulated by the United Empire Club of London, and likewise an article in the *Empire Review* for August last. In those publications it is pointed out that the State-owned Cable across the Pacific is engaged in transmitting ordinary traffic only a few hours each day, and lies idle at the bottom of the ocean not less than twenty hours in every twenty-four. It is shown to a demonstration that a free press service can be established during a portion of the idle hours of the Cable without adding in the least to working expenses. It is suggested that this means of instantaneous communication between Countries widely separated by the ocean be more fully utilized than at the present time: it is urged that the chain of Empire Cables be completed, and, when not employed in ordinary paying traffic, that arrangements be made by which they would be used under the control of an Intelligence Department in the free transmission of news and general information for daily publication in any newspaper in all parts of the British world. But I must leave the articles to which I refer to speak for themselves.

On this date a hundred years ago events were transpiring near the entrance to the Mediterranean which rendered the British Empire of the Nineteenth Century, and many succeeding centuries possible. Since then a process of development has been going on, and it appears desirable to some persons that development should now be accelerated. We must be careful, however, that progress may not be arrested by undue haste. The British people are grouped in democracies under monarchical forms, and they are entitled to claim the right to be placed in possession of a general knowledge of matters which concern their well-being. It is manifestly of the first importance that they should be well informed, and that they should gain clear ideas: until then it is not probable that any 'cut and dried' scheme which materially affects them will readily be assented to.

If my memory does not fail me, it was said, in the discussion on the paper of Sir Frederick Pollock at the Royal Colonial Institute, that the British Constitution is regarded as a model of strength, for the reason that it was not invented by any body all in one piece, but has grown through process of long years. By analogy, if the greater British Empire is to have a constitution that will stand the stress of time, not a few think that it had better come by growing. To accelerate the process of evolution, I am satisfied that the most certain course is to begin by utilizing to the fullest extent that heaven-sent means of transmitting human words across the ocean, and by cultivating the freest and most friendly intercourse between all those people who go to make up the Empire.

In submitting these remarks, I need scarcely state that I do so in no spirit of fault-finding. If I am correct in the belief that one of the purposes of the gentlemen who have spoken to us is to ascertain how far we approve of their proposals, it is fitting that we should speak frankly. For myself, I have done so, and I believe I have spoken the mind of many others. I am sure we all very fully appreciate the public spirit and kindness of the distinguished gentlemen from England who have been so good as to take us into their confidence.

Faithfully yours,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

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LETTER No. 2.

OTTAWA, October 26, 1905.

Members of the Canadian Club.

On the 21st instant, I ventured to address a letter to my fellow members, giving expression to the thoughts which arose in my own mind, on hearing Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Geoffrey Drage speak on the great subject which they brought before the Canadian Club on that day. In my letter of the 21st, I ventured to suggest that these gentlemen would do well to reverse the sequence of their proposals. Before they left Ottawa, a few days afterwards, they appear to have decided to do so.

Yesterday they addressed a public meeting in the rooms of the Montreal Board of Trade, when Sir Frederick informed those present to the effect that he and his colleagues had discovered that the time was not ripe for the first part of their proposal, viz., the formation of an Imperial Council, but that the strongest reasons exist for immediately instituting an Imperial Intelligence Department.

It is a matter of much satisfaction to me that these gentlemen have reached this wise conclusion. An Intelligence Department controlling the circle of state telegraph cables known as the 'Empire Cables,' during a portion of each day for the exchange and transmission of mutual knowledge between all the great political groups of British people would prove, as I have elsewhere pointed out, to be of the highest practical value. By such means, information of common interest collected in all parts of the Empire would be published simultaneously in the daily newspapers of each country. The effect would soon be to remove much of the ignorance which prevails, and gradually bring the whole British people in both hemispheres to a good understanding of each other through an intimacy heretofore quite impossible of attainment.

The question of an Intelligence Department comprehending all that I have indicated in my first letter—the completion of the chain of Empire Cables and their limited free use by the Press in the interest of the whole people, is no side-issue merely. It is infinitely more; it is a prime necessity in the development of the Twentieth Century Empire: without taking this first step I doubt if any real progress, any forward advance whatever can be gained. An Imperial Intelligence Department such as that outlined cannot fail when instituted to prove a distinctly formative influence in working out our destiny.

What then is our common duty?

I inclose an editorial from the *Montreal Star* of yesterday as a sample of the comments which we may look for generally in favour of the modified proposal of Sir Frederick Pollock and his associates.

Yours faithfully,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

BRITAINS SHOULD KNOW EACH OTHER.

The suggestion of Sir Frederick Pollock that there should be an Imperial Intelligence Department, whose task it would be to gather up in all corners of the Empire, any information of value to the commercial and merchant leaders in other parts of the Empire, is a capital one. There is, perhaps, no bar to the progress of real Imperial unity to-day so great as our mutual ignorance regarding each other. We are always marvelling at the ignorance of other British subjects respecting us, delightfully unconscious apparently that our ignorance regarding them is quite as sublime—and ridiculous.

There are a lot of what might be called strands of Empire, to which we should pay attention, and not make the mistake of tugging all the time at the more conspicuous cables. Mr. Drage called attention, for instance, at the Board of Trade to the fact that a British subject must take out twenty-eight patents in order to protect an invention throughout what we boastfully described as one nation. Then there is our stupid practice of giving a great postal preference to American over British periodicals which are to be distributed in this country. The blame here does not rest with us in Canada, but it does rest upon a British Government; and surely the influence of an Imperial Intelligence Department, making clear what the effects of such a blunder are, might lead to a reform.

The nearer the people of the various 'Britains' get to each other, the easier it will be for the largest plans of Empire to be pressed to a successful consummation when the hour strikes. If we do not know each other better, we are certain to misunderstand some of the demands which we will each make; and misunderstanding leads directly to distrust. No Imperial Federation—or whatever it may be called—will be born in a night. It must at least be a growth, and that growth can only be wisely directed when we have an intelligent knowledge of all the surrounding conditions.

—*From the Montreal Star, October 25, 1905.*

THE EXTRACTS

Which follow are from the responses of well-known gentlemen to the foregoing letters addressed to the Canadian Club. They are arranged in four groups, A, B, C, and D.

GROUP A.

THE VIEWS OF STATESMEN AND STUDENTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE.

I.

From His Honour Sir Henri G. Joly de Lotbinière, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia.

There is one thing which I would like to see clearly explained—why is it not possible for our Canadian Press to procure at the true source in England, and to impart to their readers in Canada, an exact knowledge, not only of public feeling and opinion in England, but also of such events as serve to form such feeling and opinion.

I have been told that the Canadian Press could not afford the necessary expenditure, and that it is therefore reduced to accept British feeling and opinion in the shape in which the United States Press chooses to interpret them, and in that shape they are given to us, readers, day by day, year by year.

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Constant dropping of water will wear the hardest stone. Would it entail such enormous expenditure for our press to get the news from England wired directly to them? Would it be beyond the power of Canada to meet that expenditure, if our press cannot meet it?

I completely agree with you, and with the opinion expressed in the printed letters you sent me, that of the modes proposed for the unification of the Empire, by Sir Frederick Pollock, viz., a Council of the Empire, or an Intelligence Bureau, we ought to resort first to the Intelligence Bureau.

How can we decide among so many conflicting interests and work towards harmonizing them, if we do not begin by acquiring an intelligent knowledge of them all?

I remember from my school-boy days the maximum adopted by Socrates as the keystone of his philosophy *γνῶθι σεαυτὸν* (know thyself) and such ought to be our aim.

II.

From His Honour A. G. Jones, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia.

I think there can be no doubt but that you are quite right in deprecating too much haste in considering such an important question as this suggestion involves.

I should certainly recommend proceeding cautiously, and if the work grows, as I think it will, one will be in a better position to consider all the details. I shall watch the movement with great interest and attention.

III.

From His Honour William Mortimer Clark, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario.

Any attempt to establish such an Imperial Council as has been proposed, at present seems premature, although the discussion of this and kindred topics cannot fail to be useful in directing public attention to the need for the greater unification of the Empire. The dissemination of more information regarding each other among the colonies than at present prevails, is a condition precedent to any successful effort being made for a closer imperial union. I may venture to say that the people of the Motherland require to be educated regarding this subject quite as much as do the Colonies: the ignorant indifference of apparently intelligent persons in Britain regarding the vast interests involved in the unification of our Empire is lamentable.

The plan you advocate for the telegraphic transmission of intelligence among our various dependencies must commend itself as one which will do much to prepare the minds of the people for at some future time adopting some plan for carrying out a closer union between the numerous nationalities which form our great Empire.

IV.

From M. H. A. A. Brault, President de la Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal.

I approve entirely any idea tending to establish friendly and commercial relations between Great Britain and the Colonies. The project of Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Drage for the creation of a Bureau of Information, as also supported by yourself and many other citizens, will finally prevail.

I believe we must take up this question in the light of an open and straight discussion, in order to separate the good from the evil. If this is done, without a thought of military imperialism, direct or indirect, the problem will receive the consideration of the public, as its solution will bring the development of friendship and material progress throughout the whole Empire.

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V.

From Dean Bovey, LL.D., &c., McGill University.

I have followed with the deepest interest the various discussions which have been held in connection with the visits of Sir Frederick Pollock, Mr. Geoffrey Drage, and Mr. Jebb. It has been an additional pleasure to me to read your admirable communications to the Canadian Club, with which in the main I am fully in accord. I am satisfied, however, that the first step to be taken should be in the direction of devising a thoroughly well considered preferential scheme, which I believe would go a long way to solving the whole difficulty.

I do not at all approve of an Advisory Council, as such a body would have no responsibility, but it seems to me that Mr. Jebb's suggestion of consultation between the different Premiers of the Empire on all matters of Imperial policy, might meet the present conditions and prepare the way for a permanent Council, which would have infinitely greater value than any Advisory Council. Surely this can be possible when your great cable scheme is an accomplished fact?

One evil with which we have to contend in this country, is the mutilated form in which cable messages are being continually transmitted to this continent from abroad. Some means should therefore be devised, under Imperial authority, which would ensure a reliable distribution of information to the countries which form the component parts of the Empire.

Might it not also be a move in the right direction if an Imperial newspaper could be established and published, either in England, with special privileges of transmission, or simultaneously in the different countries of the Empire? Such a paper would deal with the special interests of all parts of the Empire, so as to bring them more closely in touch with each other.

VI.

From Lieut.-Col. George T. Denison, President, British Empire League in Canada, Toronto.

I have read your letters to the Canadian Club with much interest, and am in hearty accord with you. It is of the utmost importance that the different Colonies should keep in touch with each other, and nothing could do that better than daily cable despatches, from all round the world, in all the papers of the Empire.

VII.

From Sir W. P. Howland, Toronto, P. C.

The subject embraced in your letter is one of vast importance, not only to the United Kingdom, but to the whole world. I doubt whether it is wise to drop the idea of a National Council, although very great difficulties would present themselves in providing for the powers which it should possess, and the subjects with which it should be authorized to deal.

As to the commercial arrangements with the Colonies of the Empire, they present very great difficulties also, the different Colonies having each a definite policy of its own, and one which has been in existence for some time, and in most cases one on which their financial arrangements depend, containing generally the principle of protection, all of which makes it very difficult to deal with that proposal. To begin, as I might say, at the other end of the matter, and provide for free intercourse and exchange of news, would undoubtedly be most desirable.

VIII.

From J. Geo. Garneau, Esq., Quebec.

I believe that it is in the common interest of England and her Colonies to draw as closely as possible the ties of commercial relationship, which give a practical basis for that feeling of interdependence and solidarity which is the best safeguard of the common weal. As the glorious constitution under which we live was gradually evolved from the teachings of experience, so must the idea of imperial unity be arrived at by the aspiration of the component elements, united by the comprehension of their common interests. In order to arrive at this comprehension, it is essential that ignorance and prejudice be dispelled, and any means tending to this end must be a step in the right direction. The British Empire embraces many races and languages, and the spirit of loyalty to a common Crown and Government must be fostered by a broad and just tolerance of the individual characteristics and legitimate aspirations of its component races.

An Imperial Intelligence Department, such as suggested, to centralize and distribute *reliable* information, cannot but do much good, and your idea about the chain of Empire Cables seems a very practical step towards the realization of that object.

IX.

From Monsignor J. A. K. Laflamme, Laval University.

I have read and read over again your letter addressed to the Canadian Club, and I have great pleasure in saying that I approve it in the main. You are right in saying that before trying to unite the various national elements of the Empire, it is prudent and even necessary to make those elements acquainted with each other. I imagine that by going too fast we might reach the opposite extreme. A solid public opinion, the only kind upon which one can safely count, is not a thing that can be improvised; still less can it be imposed. It can only be reached by long and patient effort.

Evidently the first step to take, is to circulate abundantly all information calculated to spread knowledge throughout the Empire and make known the mind of the various populations. Then only we may be able to say what scheme is fit for realization, and in what measure.

Allow me to say that the Province of Quebec would be specially glad of the creation of such a Bureau of Information. She might then hope to be better known by her neighbours in the West.

Let us commence as you have so well said by acquiring a better knowledge of each other; and we will end, as I hope, by reaching a better understanding.

X.

From Sir William C. Macdonald, Montreal.

I can find only words of commendation for what you have written, especially the point you make of laying as speedily as practicable a chain of State-owned Cables and Telegraphs to link together the Mother Country and all her outlying Colonies. This is really the first step to be taken, binding together with cords of steel, and affording time for reflection as to what should follow next. These Cables will be to the Empire, what the nerves are to the human body.

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XI.

From Prof. Adam Shortt, Professor of Political Science, Queen's University.

I have just read those letters to the Canadian Club of Ottawa, and the central idea expressed in them I entirely agree with and have often expressed. Indeed I am so fully convinced of the transcendent importance of getting the British peoples into touch with each other, not on one line only, but on all possible lines, that I quite expect when this is reasonably well accomplished, they will find the need for any special or formal machinery, such as an Imperial Council, etc., quite unnecessary; having then, as a matter of fact, secured something as far superior to it as the broad, flexible, and ever up-to-date British constitution is superior to any possible written constitution.

XII.

From Benjamin Sulte, Esq., Historian, Ex-President Royal Society of Canada.

The great question of the day is the unification of the Empire—the more perfect union of all the parts. But the parts do not know one another. So long as this ignorance of one State or Province in regard to another remains, with all the prejudices it engenders, so long will it be perfectly impossible to accomplish anything practical and lasting. Let us commence by getting to know one another. It is too early for a Council: it is just the time for an Intelligence Department, together with a Cable Service linking the principal groups of the Colonies to the Mother Country. This first step being taken, and some knowledge acquired thereby, we will see how to proceed further in the direction of mutual arrangements, if then found possible.

XIII.

From Sir Robert Thorburn, formerly Prime Minister, Newfoundland.

From the foregoing remarks you will readily infer that I have arrived at much the same conclusions as yourself, as to the best means of establishing, on a sound basis, the much-to-be-desired federation of the Mother Country with the Colonial Empire, in the accomplishment of which an 'Intelligence Department' seems to be of primary importance.

GROUP B.

JUDGES OF SUPREME AND OTHER COURTS.

I.

From Chancellor the Honourable Sir J. A. Boyd, K.C.M.G., LL.D., President of the High Court of Justice of Ontario.

I favour any method of movement which will bring or tend to bring the Mother Country and her outlying members into closer and more sympathetic relations. The scheme suggested by you of a system of telegraphic ocean cables whereby intercommunication may be had amongst all parts of the Empire with the maximum of speed and the minimum of expense, recommends itself as furthering greatly this end of bringing all parts into closer touch with the centre, and the centre with all the parts. Besides this, let all other means be used to dispel the common ignorance of each other now so

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greatly prevailing, and to bring in mutual knowledge and confidence which will follow better acquaintanceship. Care being taken on all sides to avoid any revolutionary jar, the future appears full of promise for the steady growth of a closer and more intelligent union between England and all English-speaking Colonies—which shall shape for itself that outward form best fitting and expressing the living political organism which it embodies.

II.

From the Honourable D. C. Fraser, Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

I agree fully with your proposals. Full information with a free and continued opportunity of continuing it and increasing it every day, is not only the right step to take at first, but the only one that will lead to permanency. Information about each other—more direct intercourse—exchange of products, and higher views of what is best for the Empire will enable men who now can see no further than the small interests surrounding themselves to desire closer relations.

III.

From the Honourable Robert N. Hall, Judge of the Court of King's Bench of Quebec.

The addresses of Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Drage, while extremely interesting and entitled to every attention, impressed us here, as they evidently did you, with an idea that the details of his scheme were a little premature.

I was pleased to learn that Sir Frederick Pollock had decided—influenced doubtless by your views—not to attempt at present to press his plan for an Imperial Council, but to secure some less formal organization to keep the Imperial authorities better informed as to Colonial views and requirements. With this we can all concur, and sooner or later Sir Frederick's original scheme may appear to be both opportune and practicable.

IV.

From the Honourable D. L. Hanington, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick.

I have always strongly favoured the idea of Imperial Confederation, and while at my time of life I may not see it an accomplished fact, yet I firmly believe the trend of public opinion is strongly in that direction, and the fiscal, trade, and prudential condition of the peoples of the Empire are fast inducing active steps for its accomplishment.

It seems to me that the time has not yet arrived for the proposal of any definite form which the subject shall assume. Your suggestion, an Intelligence Department, is one that can at any time now be brought into active operation, and would, I think, be a step in the march forward to the grand result. The public mind, both at home and in the Colonies, will have to be educated to the necessity of a United Empire. Any means to that end is desirable. That it will be so educated by experience, and in fact by compulsion of events, I have no doubt.

V.

From the Honourable Justice Thomas Hodgins, Esq., K.C., Master-in-Ordinary, Supreme Court of Judicature of Ontario.

I fear we have not sufficient information on the practical working details of the Imperial Intelligence Department to enable us to express any settled opinion as to its practicability and general usefulness. It was, you may remember, expected that the

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Canadian Associated Press would supply in a condensed form information about Public and Colonial affairs in Great Britain of special interest to Canadians, but their supply has been disappointing. So the proposal of some English newspapers to publish interesting items of news on Empire, Colonial and Foreign affairs for Colonial readers has been equally disappointing. Both give us what may be classed as trivialities. Neither seem to be controlled by broad-minded managers, who have an intelligent appreciation of the Colonial desire for home news, or Empire relations and policy. These experiences may not be reproduced in the proposed Imperial Intelligence Department, but they are warnings which claim consideration.

We may perhaps have more hope of good results in the Imperial and Colonial Conferences, even though some expectations of Empire Consolidation and Policy have not been realized, and some not yet even discussed by the Conferences hitherto held, yet it must be acknowledged that some good results have been accomplished, and a better understanding and appreciation of the political strength of the Colonies to the Empire have been arrived at, chiefly by the forceful and practical efforts of Canadian Statesmen, even though some idealists call these results minor or isolated matters of Empire Policy. The more frequently these Conferences can be held the more potential and effective will be their influence in developing constitutional precedents which by a process of constitutional evolution may ultimately become an engrafted and effective authority as an Imperial Council for Empire Affairs, and a recognized and essential political power in our Constitutional system of Government.

VI.

From the Honourable Justice Geo. M. Johnson, St. John's, Newfoundland.

If it be a postulate that the creation of a Council of our wide-spread Empire is a necessity, it is an axiom that its counsels must to a great extent, be ineffectual unless some effective system of intercommunication be established. That intercommunication must be free, not only between the representatives in the Council, but free also (on all matters which are of vital interest to any section) between the individual constituents or electors represented.

VII.

From the Honourable P. A. Landry, Judge of the Supreme Court, New Brunswick.

I have no hesitation in arriving at the conclusion that the scheme is in the best interests of the Empire, if the details can be worked out. The subject is very important. My best wishes are with you and its promoters for its success.

VIII.

From the Honourable N. H. Meagher, Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

Any movement tending to make the English people, and those of our sister Colonies, better acquainted with Canada, her climate, her productive capacity, and the tempting inducement she holds out to capital and energy, her spirited people, and her wise laws, should have the hearty support of every Canadian. I understand that the one feature of the intended movement involves an endeavour to accomplish the foregoing, and therefore, I wish it success.

IX.

From the Honourable Benjamin Russell, Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

I have read your letters and hasten to say that I am in entire accord with every word in them, and thank you sincerely for giving me the opportunity to read them.

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X.

From the Honourable William Wilfrid Sullivan, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island.

I have read your letters with much interest, and I desire to say that I fully share your views with regard to the advantage which the Empire would derive from the operations of such an Intelligence Department.

XI.

From The Honourable Edward C. Wetmore, Judge of the Supreme Court, Saskatchewan.

Your views with respect to the organization of an Intelligence Department and an Inter-Imperial Cable Service are entirely in accord with my own views.

I venture to suggest, however, whether it would not be a good plan to establish in various parts of the Empire, local Councils consisting in each place of persons living fairly close together, who might meet at stated times and devise means and ways by which Imperial Federation might be fostered and brought about. These Councils could exchange views with each other, and it seems to me, would be of assistance in attaining the desired object. I am very much in favour of Imperial Federation, or, the Unification of the Empire.

GROUP C.

PRINCIPALS AND OTHER HEADS OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

I.

From the Reverend S. G. Bland, D.D., Principal, Wesley College, Winnipeg.

The ideas you advance seem to me entirely wise. The first thing to be secured for the development and strengthening of Imperial Unity is that the various parts of the Empire should be brought to know each other better. Out of that will come a deeper sympathy. That sympathy is the essential thing whether it give birth to an Imperial Council or find a better organ in consultation among the Premiers. But that is a question which one need not precipitately settle. The first need is fuller and closer intimacy, and to this, probably nothing would contribute so effectively as a Free Press Cable Service around the world.

II.

From the Reverend N. Burwash, DD., LL.D., Chancellor of Victoria College, Toronto.

I have been greatly interested in what you and other prominent citizens have been doing in the great work of the Unification of the Empire. There is no doubt that our people require as yet a great deal of information and education with regard to the creation of a Council of the Empire.

III.

From the Reverend Robert A. Falconer, Litt.D., Principal of the Presbyterian College, Halifax.

I have read your letters addressed to the Canadian Club with much interest, and they seem to be thoroughly reasonable.

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I think there can be no doubt that while we hope strongly for a larger Imperial Unity in the not very distant future, at present the only safe and really effective method of promoting it, is to increase our knowledge of, and friendship for one another throughout the Empire, that it will ere long be seen by the various parts of His Majesty's Dominion that a closer union of some sort is supremely reasonable. We may allow time, perhaps almost unconsciously, to work out the comprehensive plan.

IV.

From the Very Reverend Daniel M. Gordon, D.D., Principal of Queen's University, Kingston.

Imperial Federation has been talked of by some for generations, and by many more for the past decade, but your own repeated suggestion regarding the telegraphic supply of intelligence throughout the scattered members of the Empire, so that the various portions may thus get acquainted with each other, is the most immediately practicable proposal I have seen in connection with it. We cannot begin to move with any confidence towards the formation of an Imperial Council, or even it seems to me, towards helpful tariffs, until we get more general information. If the newspapers throughout the British Empire could give their readers as full information of the ongoings in the different parts of the Empire as the papers of the United States give regarding the several States, it would help more than anything else I can think of to promote such an intelligent sympathy between the mother country and outer Britain, and between the several parts of outer Britain as would facilitate a safe and early tightening of the bonds of Imperial Federation. By such means we would be building on clear knowledge and ascertained facts, instead of, as at present, upon fancy and individual opinion.

V.

From Ian C. Hannah, Esq., D.C.L., President of King's College, Windsor.

I am enthusiastically in agreement with the views you express. In South Africa, Canada, and other parts of the Empire where I have resided, I have been much impressed by the purely local character of most of the contents of the newspapers. Newspaper men are unanimous in telling me it is a question of money: it costs so much more to get distant telegrams than to publish local gossip. On all grounds I feel the value of the suggestion of Free Press news within the limits of the Empire and devoutly hope the scheme may be realized in no distant future.

VI.

From the Reverend T. C. P. Macklem, D.D., Provost, Trinity University, Toronto.

I find myself in complete agreement with your views that the time is not yet ripe for the establishment of anything of the nature of an Imperial Council. We are still in the stage of slow and gradual formation of public opinion in regard to Imperial relations and any attempt to crystallize such opinion at the present time in the concrete form of a council, or to legislate in respect of it, would, in my judgment, be more likely to retard than to foster the growth of true and enduring unity.

I find myself in agreement with you also as to the desirability of doing something to bring all the different portions of the Empire into closer, constant, and easy communication with each other. I do not however, feel so confident as you appear to, that this aim would be affected by increased cable facilities.

What seems to me to be quite as necessary as such facilities is the establishment of something of the nature of a Board of Correspondents, having at least one correspondent of high standing and good judgment in each Colony, so as to ensure the wise

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selection and editing of the news to be sent throughout the Empire day by day. A Central Executive Committee of such a board could gradually educate these correspondents by carefully directed criticism as well as by positive instructions from time to time in respect of the kind of news considered suitable for transmission. In this way the great body of public opinion of a homogeneous character might gradually be built up throughout the Empire. If it is something of this kind that is meant by an 'Imperial Intelligence Department' I should heartily approve of it.

VII.

From the Very Reverend Wm. MacLaren, D.D., Principal of Knox College, Toronto.

I am glad to find myself largely in accord with the views set forth in your letter. The Imperial question is forcing itself on the attention of all thoughtful subjects of the British Crown. Not very long ago the attempt to unite more closely by political bonds the scattered portions of the British Empire seemed scarcely within the range of practical statesmanship. But the modern applications of steam and electricity are drawing the distant parts of the earth so closely together that what was formerly impracticable seems daily to grow more feasible. In matters of this kind however, it is especially necessary not to outrun public opinion. To bring all parts of the Empire into intelligent and sympathetic touch with each other, should certainly be the first step towards closer political relations, and your proposal for an Imperial Intelligence Department and a Free Press Cable Service seems eminently fitted to prepare the way for those closer political relations to which we should look.

VIII.

From The Very Reverend Mgr. O. E. Mathieu, C.M.G., Rector of Laval University, Quebec.

(TRANSLATED.)

Allow me to offer you my most sincere congratulations on the right ideas you express in regard to the prudence required in dealing with an enlightenment of public opinion, especially when we consider the state of ignorance which exists throughout our vast Empire concerning each of its different parts. To dispel this ignorance is an excellent work. It is a good work also to aim at making the inhabitants of such a Colony as ours better acquainted with one another, as I am convinced that if the people of Canada had a more correct knowledge of each other they would more thoroughly appreciate one another, to the great advantage of this country, which we love, and which can only be made great and prosperous by peace and union.

IX.

From the Reverend William Patrick D.D., Principal of Manitoba College, Winnipeg.

The question you raise occupied my mind before I became a citizen of Canada, and has been repeatedly under my consideration since. I have also had the advantage of discussing it with some of the foremost men in Scotland. I am a profound believer in the unity of the Empire and I desire to further that unity in all possible ways, but I am convinced that the people of the Empire are not ripe even for the formation of an Imperial Council, and that any thing in the shape of a constitution interfering with the free action of the different nationalities would do harm rather than good. The constitution of the Empire must be a growth arising out of the needs and interests of the times. I will come naturally so to speak, when the peoples are educated for it. If it

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is to come soon ; if the unity which all desire is to be more than a name and an aspiration ; the dissemination of sound and full information touching the views, habits, products, and needs of the different peoples will be of essential service. Hence I look with the greatest favour on the suggestion of an Imperial Intelligence Department, believing that such a Department wisely officered and administered would do much to unite the different portions of the Empire by furnishing them with the truths and facts which would form the basis for common conclusions and common action. To the forces thus generated I attach a higher value than to anything which may be advised in the shape of an experimental constitution.

X.

From W. Peterson, Esq., LL.D., C.M.G., Principal of McGill University, Montreal.

The proposed Intelligence Bureau ought, so far as I understand the matter, to cover much more than an improved cable service. What surprised me was, that Sir Frederick Pollock should have proposed to make the Secretary of the proposed Bureau, Secretary, also, of the Colonial Conference. It seemed to me indeed, speaking personally, that Sir Frederick Pollock came out to this country with quite a small programme and left Canada with the said programme reduced to even smaller proportions than those which it originally bore. On the other hand, I appreciate, of course, the wisdom of those who wish to enter a caveat against any hasty or ill considered action.

XI.

From the Reverend John Scrimger, D.D., Principal of the Presbyterian College, Montreal.

The idea strikes me as a good one, being entirely practicable at the present time without introducing doubtful constitutional changes, fitted to strengthen greatly the bonds of union already existing, and likely to prepare the way for some form of Imperial co-operation, if not of federation. The matter of the unity of the Empire is one that ought to lie near the heart of every Canadian and has long interested me. But apparently all that can be done in the meantime is to tighten the sentimental bonds as much as possible, and this plan ought to have that effect. I see no hope in any of the federation schemes so far proposed. We shall move safely only by moving slowly.

XII.

From the Reverend J. P. Sheraton, D.D., Principal of Wycliffe College, Toronto.

I must say, at the outset, that I am in entire sympathy with every well considered effort to promote the unification of the Empire. Imperial Unity, however, must be a growth. Whatever form it takes, it must be the expression of the inner life and conviction of the country. You cannot secure it merely by legislation. There must be a community of sentiment and conviction, and this can only be promoted by a more intimate knowledge and by getting the different parts of the Empire into closer touch with one another.

Unity cannot be grounded on Militarism, nor on Commercialism.

It seems to me that either of these, by itself, not only would be insufficient, but that a Unity dominated by them would not prove enduring. We do not want to create a great military power, nor a great Commercial Monopoly. * * * Whatever form the Political Development assumes, nothing can be done without mutual knowledge and whatever helps to promote that mutual knowledge and to bring the various Provinces and Dependencies of the Empire into closer touch with one another is not only most desirable, but is essential to any advance in the right direction. The establishment of

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an Imperial Intelligence Department and Bureau would be a splendid step in the right direction. What we want to do is to dissipate ignorance and to bring all these races and Dependencies into touch with one another. At present, what do we know of Australia, or what does Australia know of us? What have we in common? These are difficulties to be overcome.

I think that the suggestions assented to by Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Drage, and set forth so lucidly in your own letters, are the most practical that have been advanced.

GROUP D.

EXTRACT FROM LETTERS OF PROMINENT CLERGYMEN.

I.

From the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Algoma.

Nothing, in my judgment, is more needed, or better calculated to promote the cause of Imperial Unity and progress, than the proposal you have laid before me in your letters. And I am firmly convinced that you are right in saying that, for the present, what we should seek first and above all else is a better knowledge of each other as the true basis upon which Imperial Institutions may be built securely when the time is ripe.

II.

From the Right Reverend W. D. Armstrong, D. D., Moderator, Ottawa.

I hail with patriotic delight anything that will tend to bring the various parts of our great Empire into closer and more sympathetic union. I do not feel competent to discuss the whole problem, but it seems to me you have put first things first; when you advocate an Imperial Intelligence Department. It is certainly in the line of progress and pre-eminently safe. The opportune time will come for something more, but Unions on paper without carrying the intelligence are unsafe and often hurtful.

III.

From the Reverend James Barclay, D.D., St. Paul's, Montreal.

My sympathies are entirely and enthusiastically with you in your wise and practical proposals. We are scarcely ready yet for the Imperial Council, but what you propose may finally lead to something of the kind.

IV.

From the Right Reverend James Carmichael, Coadjutor Bishop of Montreal.

My opinions do not widely differ from your own. I welcome anything that makes for much closer Union between Britain and her children, and State-owned Cables and telegrams would clearly aid in developing such Union. I cannot help thinking that unless there existed some recognized body that could focus in itself, and utilize the intelligence gained, no matter how wide-spread such intelligence might be it could not fail but to lose a great deal of its force. My mind all along has been that if we really desire to make Imperialism a real live question in Canada we must work for an Imperial Council and hence I think Sir Frederick Pollock weakened his position as a political missionary when he relegated the Council to a very back seat, in his address before the Montreal Board of Trade.

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V.

From the Most Reverend Cornelius O'Brien, Archbishop of Halifax.

It seems to me your proposal, in your letters addressed to the Canadian Club, is practicable, and would be as a first step towards unity of the Empire, most useful, if slightly modified. As I have no faith in the usefulness of the daily Press, as now generally conducted, to disseminate helpful knowledge, I should desire some other method for conveying to the public the news transmitted over the various Government Cables. Do not make it easier and cheaper for the daily Press to obtain an additional supply of accounts of crimes and horrors! If the world were sufficiently sensible to establish an efficient censorship over the despatches, much good could be accomplished by means of your proposal. In any case a fuller knowledge of one another must precede any lasting Union.

VI.

From the Very Reverend G. M. Milligan, D.D., Ex-Moderator, Toronto.

I think the Greater Britain must be a growth, like its predecessor, in order to be healthy and strong. Men are too ready to intermeddle with Providence. He that believeth in a Great British future will not make haste.

The spread of knowledge in the way you indicate and the assimilations which time alone can effect are the surest means of giving us an Empire which I trust God will use as a mighty instrument in the promotion of peace and prosperity in the world.

VII.

From the Most Reverend Paul Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal.

(TRANSLATION)

I met Mr. Geoffrey Drage at Montreal, who explained this project to me. This project, which is also that of Sir Frederick Pollock and of many other distinguished people in England, is a serious one. I lack perhaps the exact information to fully appreciate the matter. I hope to have the opportunity of studying it and discussing it with men more familiar than I am with political questions.

But my view, after having read your remarkable letters, is that the project first needs to be matured, and that Canada will not now consent to be governed by a regularly organized Imperial Council.

With regard to the proposed creation of an Intelligence Department to make better known the real sentiments of the autonomous colonies, I should not like for the moment to express an opinion.

VIII.

From the Very Reverend Wm. Moore, D.D., ex-Moderator, Ottawa.

The unity of the Empire has been one of my life-long dreams and first took shape in my mind under the stress of the excitement of 'The Trent Affair', during the Civil War in the United States. War was then threatened by the great republic and I saw in imagination, the stalwart sons of the United Kingdom gathering from Canada and from far-off islands of the sea to defend the majesty of the Empire. Yet it has not been mine to do anything to bring about so great a consummation, but to watch and wait. It is therefore with the utmost diffidence that I venture to express my mind on this gigantic and most complex problem. It seems to me that the final compacting of

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the Empire must in some respects resemble the formation of a crystal. In crystallization the microscopic particles which make up the whole are not drawn together nor are they held together by any force externally applied, but by the force or forces immanent in each separate particle, each having an inward affinity for all the rest, and all the rest having a reciprocal affinity for each, which not only draws them together, but constitutes them one body which nothing but some conquering power can destroy.

If in any degree my simile holds, then the first effort of Empire-builders should be directed to create and nourish in each separate part which is to be compacted into the larger unity, the inherent virtue or force which will draw it into and hold it in perfect union with the rest.

The Empire cannot be a mere mechanical aggregate. It must be, if it is to endure, an organism penetrated through and through with one self-harmonious and informing life. Here we must hasten slowly, trusting to that all-wise and powerful Divine Providence which out of the warring elements of the heptarchy forged a united England: to guide the whole formative process so as in due time to realize for us in a United British Empire, John Milton's glorious vision of a grand Christian man. It seems to me, therefore, that your proposal, which has been so happily formulated by the Ottawa Board of Trade, and which has found such general endorsement in all Colonies, marks out the true line of effort. If it can be happily accomplished, all the rest will come in time.

IX.

From the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia, Halifax.

Your proposals are fully in accord with my own views. The strangely vague ideas which residents in different parts of the Empire have of each other, and their various resources and capabilities, would readily give place to a definite conception of the possibilities of all. Your proposals are both sensible and practical.

X.

From the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Niagara, Hamilton.

I have read your letters to the Canadian Club with a great deal of interest, as I think every patriotic member of the Empire cannot fail to do. I am in hearty agreement with your views, so clearly and powerfully put forward in paragraphs 9-11-13-16 and 17 of your first letter; and paragraph 4 of your second letter. There is no doubt that the Imperial Intelligence Department must precede the formation of an Imperial Council, and in fact lead up to it.

The former can be entered upon immediately, and with small expense.

It will be the forerunner of the latter. I am sure that on this point the largest possible consensus of opinion will be with you.

XI.

From the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ontario, Kingston.

I am in perfect agreement with all you say. I think that an 'Imperial Intelligence Department' must precede, for a considerable length of time, an Imperial Council, if the latter is to be of any value. An Imperial Cable Service, by which the free transmission of news and general information could be daily given through the Press, to all parts of the British World, would be of incalculable value, in cementing the different and widely separated portions of the Empire together. Knowledge must precede confidence, and confidence constitutes the only true foundation for union and stability.

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XII.

From the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ottawa, Ottawa.

There can be no doubt that free and frequent intercourse between the people in all parts of the Empire must promote that nearer acquaintance which produces and promotes mutual confidence and which will bring us all in one : and the intelligent, powerful union of the British Empire means a great deal not only for the English-speaking people, but for the nations of the world generally.

XIII.

From the Right Reverend John Potts, D.D., Methodist Educational Society, Toronto.

There is no doubt that this movement is growing and is tending more and more to the unity of the Empire. Imperial Unity is not a thing to be hurried too fast, but nothing will tend to draw the various parts of the Empire together as much as information.

XIV.

From the Very Reverend Allan Pollock, D.D., LL.D., Presbyterian College, Halifax.

I think that an Imperial Council of the Empire is most desirable, that the state of things, which has long continued, however well it may have done in the past, is no longer advisable, and may be no longer consistent with the safety or even the perpetuity of the Empire, and that such a Council should always be kept in view by all who are friendly to British rule in the world, also that, as means of communication have vastly increased, thus rendering such a Council possible, so the best way of promoting this end, is to make all parts of the Empire mutually and habitually acquainted, by maintaining a system of constant communication leading to a more perfect acquaintance. This may be a slower way of bringing into existence a Council, but it will be a surer and safer way,

XV.

From the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Quebec, Quebec.

To my mind both an Imperial Council and an Imperial Intelligence Department are necessary and both will bring forth much good fruit, but while I would like to see both as soon as possible, I quite agree with you that the helpfulness of the first cannot be nearly so certain or so great as it will be when there has been brought about the definite knowledge, which can only arise out of the rapid and full establishment of the second.

It is simply deplorable the extent to which the telegraphic news that we receive in Canada is affected at times, and with regard to certain subjects, by the necessity as it is at present, of its going through the United States. This of itself demonstrates the strong need there is for an Imperial Intelligence Department, which can only be good and effective when we have just what you suggest, viz., an ample Empire Cable System passing Imperial Intelligence fully and freely throughout the Empire. Our great need, above all other needs, is just the system of full, free and effective Empire Cables, which you so pertinently and forcibly suggest.

XVI.

From the Reverend S. P. Rose, D.D., Centenary Methodist Church, Hamilton.

It is impossible to feel otherwise than impressed with the grandeur (I can think of no more adequate term) of your proposition and of its bearing, not only upon Imperial Unity, but upon the closer fellowship of the nations of the earth. It is hard to think of any other single material advantage within the reach of our age, out of which larger contributions to the closer fellowship of the civilized nations might be derived, than that which has your advocacy.

STATE CABLES AND CHEAP TELEGRAPHY, AIDS TO IMPERIAL CONSOLIDATION.

The substance of an address by Sir Sandford Fleming, at a Meeting of the United Empire Club, London, July 27th, 1905. His Grace the Duke of Argyll in the Chair.

The British communities the world over are inevitably being drawn to the question of the consolidation of the Empire. Not a few of the foremost men of the day regard it as a high public duty to give expression to thoughts and opinions which may tend to promote that object. The humblest citizen is not debarred from doing the same. I would venture, therefore, to put forward a few explanations and suggestions in regard to the place and function of a system of Empire cables as a most important and necessary aid to the desired object of a closer union.

I offer these suggestions in the hope that they may be deemed not unworthy of consideration at the next Colonial Conference. Meanwhile there will be a distinct advantage in having the views submitted to the public for their general information and possible criticism.

First I would draw attention to the recent report of the Ottawa Board of Trade respecting Empire Cables, a document which has an intimate bearing on the future usefulness of that unique state undertaking, the Pacific Cable, established by the wise foresight of six British governments. This report points out that there is a wonderful field of usefulness for the Pacific cable, and it furnishes direct evidence of the extraordinary unanimity evinced by British Chambers of Commerce in all parts of the globe on the subject. It demonstrates that there is a widespread desire to secure a comprehensive means of cheap telegraphy between all the great self-governing British states throughout the world in the interests of trade, shipping, social and commercial intercourse, and especially in the interest of Imperial affinity and union; it shows, further, that no argument has been advanced against the public policy of completing without loss of time the Trunk line of telegraph cables advocated, of which the Pacific Cable constitutes the first great division, forming as it does a large portion of the whole system of state-owned cables at present projected.

It is not suggested that the state should assume the control of ocean cables generally but simply that one line around the globe should be state-owned: that this line should be the one described by the Ottawa Board of Trade as 'Empire Cables,' connecting as it would the several great outlying divisions of the Empire with each other, and all with the Mother Country.

It has been objected that prejudice to existing interests would be thereby created. To that stricture one may reply that in so far as other cables intersect the line of the Empire Cables, they would assume the position of branches, and would gain greatly by the connection. The true policy of the state should be to reduce progressively the charges for messages transmitted by the Empire Cables to the lowest possible rates while still leaving the service self-supporting. Two results would follow this policy: an enormous increase in the volume of business, and a great reduction in telegraph charges to and from all points on the globe-girdling chain. Both results would necessarily

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benefit the private companies owning the branch lines, by reason of the continuous stream of profitable telegraph traffic which the Imperial Trunk system would bring to the companies to handle.

Irrefutable evidence can be furnished to prove that with the globe-girdling chain of Empire Cables established, it would be possible greatly to reduce the cost of all over-sea telegraphy coming within the range or within the influence of these cables.

Returns recently laid before Parliament from the Pacific Cable Board, furnish information respecting the working of this State undertaking. The actual working expenses for the year ending March 31st, 1905—including salaries and expenses at the Head Office in London and at all stations and termini, and including provision for a provident fund and the maintenance of a repair ship—amount to less than £51,000, while the traffic receipts for the same year were over £82,000. The Pacific Cable, therefore, already earns sufficient to cover all working expenses, and leaves £31,000 surplus earnings towards meeting interest, sinking fund, and other charges described in the report of Lord Selborne's Committee of January 5th, 1897, as 'practically a double replacement of capital.'

The cable, with duplex and curb automatic working, attains a speed of 168 letters per minute, and I have heard of no good reason why this working speed should not be maintained in transmitting a continuous stream of telegraph matter. On this basis, taking the words at eight letters, the transmitting power of the cable is 30,000 words per day of twenty-four hours. Excluding Sundays, this is equal to more than 9,000,000 words per annum. After making due allowance in ordinary traffic for all necessary service messages, the line is quite capable of carrying 25,000 paying words per day without to any appreciable extent adding to the present working expenses.

The cable, working only half time, that is to say, twelve hours in each twenty-four, would, at the low rate of 4*d.* per word, yield a revenue considerably more than sufficient to meet ordinary working expenses—to be precise, 3½*d.* per word would be sufficient. It is true that an additional transmission charge of 6*d.* per word would be necessary to meet in full all charges made by the Treasury for interest, renewal fund and sinking fund, to replace capital on the very liberal scale suggested by Lord Selborne's Committee; but it is a debateable question how much of this charge should be made payable at the expense of cheap telegraphy. If the projected circle of cables come to be regarded as vital to the life and progress of that great political organism, the Empire, it will have to be considered how far its functional utility should remain unimpaired. The rates I have mentioned, 4*d.* even 10*d.* per word are extremely low compared with what has heretofore been charged (ranging as high as 9*s.* 4*d.* per word before the Pacific Cable was advocated), and I mention these low charges merely to indicate what is possible and what may be anticipated eventually as a result of the establishment of the Empire Cables. For if such cheap telegraphy be possible across the Pacific to New Zealand and Australia, it is equally possible to India and South Africa. It must, however, be borne in mind that to approach such modest transmission charges it is indispensable that the connecting cables should be state-owned and the service efficiently managed under State control.

In the foregoing estimates I am pre-supposing that the cable is only half employed and practically idle during half the day. This condition opens the way to further possibilities of the most important character. It has been suggested that for high Imperial reasons co-operation of the press should be sought. The press has much in its power to promote unity and progress; its highest functions are to spread knowledge, enlighten the people and mould their destiny. But the press must have freedom, and it should enjoy every advantage in performing its beneficent work which science can devise. I have shown that the State-owned Cable service, employed only half the day at a low tariff of charges, can be self-supporting. May we not fittingly inquire, is there no useful purpose to which we can apply during the whole or a portion of the other half day this wonderful means of communication established at the public cost for the public advantage, in the sense of the free transmission of news under proper restrictions? I ask to

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what better purpose can the cable be applied during some of its idle hours than in co-operation with a free Press to promote general intercourse and benefit the British people?

Before the days of telegraphy those who had emigrated to the colonies anxiously awaited the arrival of ships with the mails, and on the ship's arrival they greedily devoured the newspapers. The mail is now inadequate as a means of conveying news between places widely separated by the seas. It is an incident of modern civilization that the people will not read old newspapers however excellent they may be, at least not with the same avidity as cabled intelligence. The reader of to-day must have news that is not old. Few in Canada and still fewer in New Zealand and Australia, read the London papers which for weeks have been buried in a mail bag. This age demands up-to-date news, and the demand can, I believe, easily be met by affiliating the Press under proper arrangements with the cable service.

This proposal will be found to harmonize with the suggestions formulated by Sir Frederick Pollock and his friends in the appeal they have recently made in favour of an Imperial Council combined with an Intelligence Department. I am satisfied that no more potent agency could be devised for accomplishing the great patriotic purpose these gentlemen have in view than an arrangement by which both Cable and Press would act jointly in advancing the Imperial cause. These twin agencies can undoubtedly be most helpful in disseminating knowledge and in initiating profitable discussions. They can remove very much of the ignorance which now obtains and make the King's subjects around the globe better acquainted with each other. There is no other conceivable means by and through which the various groups of British people separated by the seas can be brought more speedily or more closely into terms of mutual relationship.

For the present, our greatest need is a better knowledge of each other, and if our object be to unify the Empire, all our people who live beyond the seas should, as much as possible, be brought practically into the neighbourhood of England and into the neighbourhood of each other. Before we can be expected to decide on any possible organic union to bind us together for all time, we should first know and understand each other, and the more thoroughly we can accomplish that purpose, the easier it will be to realise the high ideal of Imperial unity.

In forming an Intelligence Department, the plan to be followed will, of course, require to be carefully matured. The headquarters of the department naturally would find its proper place in England. Besides the Imperial Board of Intelligence in London, possibly branch boards would be desirable in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, Africa, the West Indies, and elsewhere. All the boards should consist of representative and independent public men, whose duty it would be to obtain for dissemination over the Empire, accurate information and unbiassed opinions on all subjects of general interest; the information so obtained would be cabled daily or weekly as may be determined to the London Board and to all the branch boards for publication.

As it seems to me some such organization would become a most potent Imperial agency. It would prove to be an invaluable means of educating our people everywhere respecting the life, the opinions and aspirations of all our fellow subjects in the several parts of the Empire. It would directly place before each section of the British world, the views formed or forming in all other sections.

I am thoroughly satisfied that the cable during a portion of the day could not be turned to any better account. Two hours a day would easily admit of 10,000 or 12,000 words being transmitted each week. This full volume of news published simultaneously in the chief centres of the Empire would have a wonderful influence. The good to result from a mutual interchange of information and sentiment is beyond calculation. Obviously it would steadily have a unifying tendency if every day in the year the pulsations of the great heart of the Motherland could be felt by kith and kin beyond the seas, and if also every man within as well as without the central kingdom could read in his morning paper the same sympathetic evidences of interest in the common welfare, and all fresh from his fellow subjects in all quarters of the globe. I venture to think that to organize an Imperial Intelligence Department such as has been indicated will

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come to be regarded as an eminently progressive movement. And I feel satisfied that in conjunction with the world-girdling chain of State Cables there is no other conceivable agency which would more speedily mould our great world Empire into a living reality.

That is the supreme object to be eventually attained. Meanwhile there are other great objects incidentally to be secured—objects which have received the unanimous support of all Chambers of Commerce. I confidently believe that if wise councils prevail the proposed system of Empire Cables will prove an inestimable boon 'to the millions' who have heretofore been debarred from cabling to distant friends by charges absolutely prohibitive to them.

—*From The Empire Review, August, 1905.*

The first of these is the fact that the city of Boston was founded in 1630 by a group of Puritan settlers who came to the New World in search of a place where they could practice their religion in peace and without the interference of the English government. The second is the fact that the city of Boston was the first to establish a public school system in 1630, and the third is the fact that the city of Boston was the first to establish a public library in 1630.

THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

The city of Boston was founded in 1630 by a group of Puritan settlers who came to the New World in search of a place where they could practice their religion in peace and without the interference of the English government. The city of Boston was the first to establish a public school system in 1630, and the first to establish a public library in 1630. The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public hospital in 1630, and the first to establish a public prison in 1630.

The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public university in 1630, and the first to establish a public court system in 1630. The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public police force in 1630, and the first to establish a public fire department in 1630.

The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public water supply system in 1630, and the first to establish a public sewerage system in 1630. The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public gas supply system in 1630, and the first to establish a public electric supply system in 1630.

The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public telephone system in 1630, and the first to establish a public telegraph system in 1630. The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public railway system in 1630, and the first to establish a public streetcar system in 1630.

The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public airport in 1630, and the first to establish a public harbor in 1630. The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public park system in 1630, and the first to establish a public zoo in 1630. The city of Boston was also the first to establish a public museum in 1630, and the first to establish a public observatory in 1630.